

THE EARLY PERIOD OF THE SINAI MONASTERY IN THE LIGHT OF ITS INSCRIPTIONS

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I

FROM seventy to two hundred inscriptions (depending on whether inscribed objects are included) have been preserved within the walls or in the immediate neighborhood of St. Catherine's Monastery. Of this impressive number, a mere fourteen or sixteen Greek inscriptions (again, depending on the inclusion of movable objects) may be assigned to the earliest and most intriguing period in the monastery's history, that is, roughly, the years between 500 and 700.

The ratio of seventy and two hundred to fourteen and sixteen may seem unfavorable if, for the sake of comparison, we turn to Sinai's architecture, since quite a sizeable proportion of the monastery's buildings dates back to the sixth century. However, the historian of early Sinai receives little help from this abundance: even if most of the walls—of the enclosure, the basilica, the present day mosque, and the substructures—date from the earliest period, these remains tell a general, rather than a precise, story. Apart from inscriptions, their most explicit message is contained in the mason's marks, which appear as Greek letters (possibly representing numbers) on the blocks of granite.

The weight of the epigraphical evidence further increases when, again for the sake of comparison, we consider Sinai's rich manuscript collections, including documents, and those narrative sources which deal with the early history of the monastery. Here we can assign nothing to the first centuries of the monastery's existence, except for manuscript fragments and some scanty pieces of narrative. From roughly the year four hundred to the middle of the seventh century, imperial and papal letters and the Acts of the Councils do yield the names of some Sinaitic monks, ecclesiastics, and pilgrims to the

Holy Mountain.¹ However, when we look for narrative information from sources reliably written in that same period, we come up with no more than three passages. Two of them occur in travelogues, by Aetheria who visited Sinai about A.D. 400 and by Antoninus of Piacenza who was there at the end of the sixth century; the third is in Procopius' treatise *On the Buildings*, dating from about the year 560.² The earliest writer describing

¹ Details in R. Devreesse, "Le christianisme dans la péninsule sinaitique, des origines à l'arrivée des musulmans," *Revue biblique*, 49 (1940), pp. 205–223.

² *De Aedificiis*, V, 8. About the year 560 is the traditional date ascribed to the appearance of this work. Recently, a date around 555 has been suggested: Cf. E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II (1949), p. 837; B. Rubin, *Pauly's Realencyclopdie...*, 23, I (1957), col. 355. I retain the traditional date, since it rests on a positive indication, while all of Stein's proofs are based on *argumenta ex silentio*.

Among other sixth-century authors, Cosmas Indicopleustes, who wrote his *Christian Topography* about 550, claimed to have visited the Sinai peninsula "on foot" and to have seen the famous Sinaitic inscriptions there (217A = p. 154, 6th ed. by Winstedt). This may or may not have been true; we do know, however, that in one passage of his work Cosmas located "his" Mount Sinai six miles from Pharan (200B = p. 140, 14–15, *ed. cit.*), while Justinian's monastery (not mentioned in the preserved text of Cosmas at all) is about thirty-five miles from that oasis. In spite of this, it is doubtful that Cosmas actually considered the imposing Mount Serbal near Pharan as the mountain on which God spoke to Moses. For the argument that Cosmas did not identify Mount Sinai with Mount Serbal, cf. S. Schiowitz, "Die altchristliche Tradition über den Berg Sinai und Kosmas Indikopleustes," *Der Katholik*, 4th Ser., 38 (1908), pp. 9–30.

In her travelogue Aetheria clearly referred to "our" Mount Sinai. I mentioned her, therefore, and omitted Cosmas from my short catalogue of narratives. On Cosmas and Sinai, cf. also L. Prévost and others, *Le Sinai, hier...aujourd'hui...* (1937), pp. 159–163, and M. Anastos, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 3 (1946), p. 77, note 6; the theory

the foundation of the monastery in some detail is the Patriarch of Alexandria, Eutychius, who lived in the second half of the tenth century. Unfortunately, by his time the legendary elements of the story had pushed the historical ones into the background.

Most of our other historical and documentary data purporting to refer to the earliest period, such as the narratives of Ammonius³ and of Nilus "of Sinai," or the charters bearing the name and handprint of Justinian and Mohammed respectively, are the results of pious or erudite frauds perpetrated between the late sixth century and early modern times. While piety remained equally intense in all of them, they varied in sophistication. Thus the charters of both Justinian and Mohammed (the latter's effective for centuries in persuading Moslem rulers to grant immunities to the monks) have been roundly rejected by modern research. However, Ammonius' and Nilus' "eyewitness" stories so beguiled scholars from Tillemont's time⁴ to the twentieth century, that until quite recently⁵ these two accounts served as a basis for depicting the tribulations which Sinai's monks had supposedly undergone in 373 or about 400.

With the architectural remains and art objects speaking in muted tones, with earliest documents absent or untrustworthy —authentic ones begin only in the High

that Cosmas became a monk on the Sinai peninsula (in Raithou, modern Abu-Zenima rather than Tor) and wrote his main work there has been exploded by Anastas, *ibidem*, pp. 75–77.

³ Ed. by F. Combefis, *Illustrum Christi martyrum lecti triumphi* (1660), pp. 88–132, inaccessible to me. I used the text of *Sinaiticus Graecus* 267, fols. 351^r–358^v, instead. A Syriac version has been edited and translated in A. S. Lewis, *The Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert... [= Horae Semiticae, IX]* (1912); translation on pp. 1–14.

⁴ L.-S. Le Nain de Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles...*, VII (2nd ed., 1706), p. 574: "Ammone écrit... d'un style si saint, si édifiant... qu'il mérite toute sorte de... croyance." For a typical recent defense of Ammonius' authenticity, cf., e.g., S. Schiwietz, "Die altchristliche Tradition..." (as in note 2, *supra*), pp. 16–22.

⁵ R. Devreesse, "Le christianisme..." (as in note 1, *supra*), pp. 218–222, elegantly disposes of Ammonius and Pseudo-Nilus.

Middle Ages—and with the bulk of datable manuscripts not earlier than the ninth century, the student of Sinai's history must treat the monastery's earliest inscriptions with special care.

II

The first person to have used Sinai's epigraphy for historical purposes seems to have been Daniel, the Metropolitan of Ephesus, who visited the Holy Places, including Sinai, in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. "The aforementioned monastery together with its fortress," says Daniel "*<was>* also built by the Emperor Justinian himself, as one may learn from inscriptions found there."⁶ The situation has not changed much since Daniel's days: the two inscriptions on the beams of the basilica's roof are our most precise evidence for the limiting dates of the monastery's construction: as one of them [no. 4] speaks of "the late" Theodora, while the other [no. 5] refers to Justinian as living, the basilica must have been erected between the years 548 and 565.

All modern attempts to narrow this margin rest, entirely or in part, on epigraphical evidence. Scholars invoke the words "indiction fourteen" which appear on the mosaic in the basilica's apse [no. 7], the dates "527" and the expression "thirtieth year" occurring in the inscriptions over the present entrance [no. 17], or the mention of the name Nonna on another beam of the basilica's roof [no. 3] and in an epitaph from Beersheba. That all of these efforts have failed has not been the fault of epigraphy, but because too much has been attempted with too few data.

Even if proper names and titles do not solve our chronological difficulty, they are welcome for their own sake; unfortunately, most of them cannot be related to the skimpy knowledge we already possess. The mosaic inscription [no. 7] yields the names of Longinus the Abbot, John the Deacon, and Theodore the *deutereuōn* or *deuterarios*,

⁶ Daniel, Διηγησις... καὶ περίοδος τῶν ἁγίων τόπων, ed. by G. Destunis, *Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij sbornik*, 3, 2 (1884), pp. 1–23, cf. esp. p. 5, 18–20. Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 11, 14–15, and 19, 21–24, for γράμματα meaning "inscriptions."

"the second in command." All were alive at the time of the mosaic's execution, but we know nothing more about them. An inscription on the basilica's beam [no. 3] mentions Deacon (?) Stephen the Ailesian (from Aila, a city in the Gulf of 'Aqaba), the architect of the church, his *daughter* Nonna, and his son George. We know nothing else about Stephen or George; as for Nonna, she has been repeatedly identified with that "*<daughter>* of Stephanos, Nonna the Ailesian," who died in a "tenth indiction" (547 or 562?) and whose tombstone has been found in Beersheba in today's Israel,⁷ a place sufficiently close to Aila to make the identification plausible.

One is tempted to make other connections as well. The Alexandria-Michigan-Princeton Expedition to Mount Sinai, which I joined in 1960, was the first to reveal an inscription on the second arch over the steep path leading toward the summit of Sinai. I read it: "For the salvation of Abba Iohannes the Abbot and . . ." [no. 11]. Assuming the reading to be correct, could not the Abbot Iohannes, who had this arch erected, be John of the Ladder himself, the most famous abbot in Sinai's history? Positive proof is simply not there, but the date of the inscription (sixth or seventh century) does not exclude the possibility. Whoever Abbot John may have been, the inscription shows that the arches, and there-

⁷ A. Alt, *Die griechischen Inschriften der Palästina Tertia westlich der 'Araba [= Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen des deutsch-türkischen Denkmalschutzkommandos, 2]* (1921), no. 36 = p. 23. Read objectively, the Beersheba inscription mentions a Nonna as a deceased daughter of one Stephanos. If Grégoire (*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 31 [1907], p. 333), Clermont-Ganneau (*Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, VIII [1924], pp. 76–78), and Beneševič (*Byzantion*, 1 [1924], p. 152) saw this Nonna as Stephanos' wife (or even mother), it was because they thought that the Nonna of the beam inscription [no. 3] was Stephanos' wife (or mother), alive at the time of the monastery's construction. Things become simpler, and the identity of the two Nonnas, that of Beersheba and that of Sinai, remains possible, though not proven, if we admit that the text of the Sinai inscription was garbled at the time it was being carved on the beam and that Nonna, the deceased daughter of Stephanos, was to appear on it next to the name of her deceased brother George. See the reconstructed text of no. 3 in the list of inscriptions *infra*.

fore the steps leading to the summit, belong to the earliest structures of Mount Sinai.

New information on early buildings in the monastery or in its surroundings was provided by other material first recorded by our expedition. A reference, on a fragment of a lintel, to the "Martyrium of Saint Stephen" [no. 9] showed that the present Chapel of St. Stephen, dating from the eighteenth century, had been preceded by a much earlier structure. The inscription of Gerontios, "priest of St. Theodore" [no. 8], suggests that a church or chapel under that vocable must have existed nearby in the sixth or seventh century.

However, early inscriptions yield more than chronological, prosopographical, and topographical crumbs for the hungry antiquarian. Along with the scanty literary sources, they help to retrace the everyday cultural horizon of sixth- and seventh-century Sinai and to assess the intellectual and linguistic equipment of its monks. The preserved early inscriptions are mostly Greek—although some of them must have been made by non-Greeks [nos. 12, 15]—with a sprinkling of Armenian and Syriac and even one Nabatean text.⁸ In addition to Sinai itself, their world is almost entirely that of Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. In the Greek inscriptions, a great deal of evidence points to that conclusion; proper names (Aila [no. 3], Kanathos [no. 10], Kyrikos [no. 15]); formulae, even the most banal ones ("In the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost" and "this entire work was executed," at the beginning of the mosaic inscription [no. 7]; "This is <the> victorious <sign>" and "One <is the> God <that> helps" [no. 10]; "Martyrium" [no. 9]; "Those who had offered the fruits" [no. 7]); Biblical quotations (Pss. 117 [118]:20 [nos. 1 and 2], and 112 [113]:7 [no. 8]); the isopsephic play "99" for "Amen" [no. 10]; characteristic spelling errors (μνήστηθη, τοῦν τέκνουν) [no. 13]; and the sequence Δ instead of Λ (41, as it were, for 14) in the number of the indiction on the mosaic [no.

⁸ In 1960, this stone inscription was kept in the Museum Room of the Old Library. The late Professor Carl H. Kraeling identified it for me, from a photograph, as Nabatean.

7], a feature which unnecessarily disturbed two modern scholars.⁹

In terms of geography and cultural horizon, then, the early inscriptions reflect the same world which we know from seventh-century popular literature dealing with Sinai, such as the stories attributed to Anastasius the Sinaite¹⁰ or those inserted by John Moschus into his *Pratum Spirituale*: the world of Egypt, Syria, and Palestine—with Armenia and Georgia sending most of the occasional “exotic” monks and pilgrims. This being so, we might reasonably look for the sources of early Sinaiitic art and architecture in these three regions, keeping in mind, of course, that individual movable objects could have reached the young monastery from the capital, or, for that matter, from any area in the Empire.

When it comes to the monks’ intellectual equipment, the early inscriptions show very little sophistication and are closer to stories by Anastasius and Moschus than even to Abbot John’s *Ladder of Divine Ascent*. Texts, both literary and epigraphical, give the impression that, by the middle of the seventh century, Sinai was becoming the backwater which it was to remain until the eleventh century. Among the admittedly few inscriptions of any length, only two are free of spelling errors. These are the mosaic inscription [no. 7] and the slab protecting the relics of Sinai’s Holy Fathers [no. 6], who rest in the basilica’s South Chapel, a place often reserved for relics in the early churches of Syria. The mosaic inscription was executed by imported artisans; hence it reflects *their* level of literacy, or perhaps that of their foreman. As for the slab, it is

⁹ A. Guillou, “Le monastère de la Théotokos au Sinaï...,” *École française de Rome, Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire*, 67 (1955), pp. 217–258; P. Lemerle, “Bulletin archéologique IV, 1952–1954,” *Revue des études byzantines*, 13 (1955), p. 233.

¹⁰ F. Nau, “Le texte grec des récits du moine Anastase sur les saints pères du Sinaï,” *Oriens Christianus*, 2 (1902), pp. 58–89; cf. the French translation, *idem*, “Les récits inédits du moine Anastase...,” *Revue de l’Institut catholique de Paris* (1902, nos. 1 and 2), pp. 1–70; cf. also some of these texts, attributed to a “Sinxron,” in the Russian translation by Porfirij Uspenskij, *Pervoe puteshestvie v Sinajskij monastyr’ v 1845 godu* (1856), pp. 107–120.

of marble, that is to say, it was imported, and may have been inscribed before it reached Sinai. The text, hitherto misunderstood, commemorates the “four times ten” fathers (of Sinai) who had “imitated the baptism by blood of an equal number of Martyrs.” The marble plaque, dating from the late sixth century, seems, thus, to be an epigraphic *pendant* to literary fabrications undertaken roughly at the same time in order to provide the newly founded monastery—or at least its site—with martyrs of its own. I have especially in mind the story by Ammonius, in which the figure of thirty-nine monks slaughtered by the Saracens—purportedly in the late fourth century—was rounded out by having an otherwise slightly wounded monk, Sabas, die as well “so that with me the number forty of Thy servants may be fulfilled.”¹¹ The story purports to be an eyewitness account of late fourth-century events; in fact, it is later and must have been composed—perhaps by some learned Sinaiitic monk—toward the end of the sixth century.¹² At first thought, the martyrs, “equal in number” to those of Sinai, appear to be the forty martyrs of Sebasteia. A slight difficulty arises at this point, however, since the Sebasteans did not undergo baptism by blood, but froze to death in a lake. Perhaps one should see in the models which the forty Sinaiitic martyrs imitated the forty monks who (so Ammonius would have us believe) were murdered in nearby Raithou by the Blemmyes on the very day on which their Sinaiitic counterparts were submitting to their ordeal.¹³

III

In epigraphy, fabrication or misleading information is rare, but not altogether impossible. We should not put much trust in the two inscriptions, one Arabic, one Greek [no. 17], immured above the present entrance and displaying the date 527. Since any

¹¹ Cf. note 3, *supra*: *Sinaiticus Graecus* 267, fol. 352^r; A. S. Lewis, *The Forty Martyrs...*, p. 3.

¹² So, plausibly, R. Devreesse, “Le christianisme...” (as in note 1, *supra*), p. 219.

¹³ *Sinaiticus Graecus* 267, fol. 358^v; cf. A. S. Lewis, *The Forty Martyrs...*, pp. 13–14 (the number of Martyrs on Sinai and in Raithou was miraculously the same).

visitor can easily notice them, they have been published and commented upon more often than any other inscription at Sinai, except for the one on the mosaic. The Greek version is also the only one among the monastery's inscriptions to have been honored by a quasi-facsimile reproduction in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*. But this jewel has a flaw, for it dates from the late eighteenth century and in all probability was executed under the rule of Archbishop Cyril the Cretan (1759–1798),¹⁴ an educated prelate

¹⁴ For the Greek version's facsimile in *CIG*, cf. vol. IV (1877), no. 8634 and pl. XII. The assignment of this inscription to the time of Cyril the Cretan rests on three major and three minor considerations.

Major considerations: 1. *Sinaiticus Graecus* 1605, fol. 130v (ed. in V. Beneševič, *Opisanie grečeskix rukopisej... Sv. Ekateriny...*, I [1911], pp. 559–560), contains a note dating from the time of Cyril's rule and the painter Kornaros' work at the monastery (about 1778). The note gives what claims to be a literal translation of an Arabic inscription, "situated in the so-called Mandra outside the monastery," revealing the founder's name and the date of the monastery's foundation. The note's original is clearly no other than the Arabic inscription now immured above the present entrance. This inscription seems to have been the only one in existence at the time of the note's composition. *Sinaiticus Graecus* 1605 says nothing about a Greek counterpart, in stone, to the Arabic original and there would have been little need for a special translation about 1778 if by that time the Greek version had been set into the wall, side by side with its Arabic model. Finally, the translated text, as it stands in the manuscript note, shows identity of contents, but no verbal coincidences with the preserved Greek inscription. 2. A text, word by word the same as that of the preserved Greek inscription, appears on the back of the Archbishop's throne, painted by John Kornaros in 1778 (cf. the signature Χειρ ἦν Λωγράφου Κορνάρου Ἰωάννου Κρητός, 1778, in the lower left corner of the upper panel of the back of the throne) under the auspices of Cyril the Cretan [no. 18, illustration only]. 3. The first mention of an inscription in Greek and Arabic over the (present?) entrance to the monastery occurs in a description of Sinai printed in 1817. All previous printed descriptions dwell on the monastery's "Western wall" (where the entrance is situated) in some detail, yet all are silent on the subject of an inscription there. Cf., for negative findings, Nektarios, *Ἐπιτομὴ τῆς ἱεροκοσμικῆς ἱστορίας...* (Venice, 1677), p. 161; Βιβλίον περιέχον τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῆς ἀγίας Αἰκατερίνης... (Târgoviște, 1710), pages unnumbered, closely following Nektarios;

who had several other unimpeachable inscriptions made for Sinai. Fortunately, this inscription is the only epigraphic disappointment at the monastery. This is particularly worth stressing, since André Guillou has recently advanced the opinion that the lower part of the mosaic inscription in the basilica's apse is modern and that it dates from the years 1840–1841¹⁵—a view which must be refuted lest the uninitiated lose faith both in epigraphy and in art history: today's art historians maintain that in the course of thirteen hundred years the apse mosaic of Sinai has undergone no major restorations.

Mr. Guillou uses five arguments¹⁶ to confirm his belief that the words of the

another edition of the Βιβλίον (Venice, 1727), p. 57; and several editions of Περιγραφὴ Ἱερὰ... ὅρους Σινᾶ... (Venice, 1768), p. 35; (Venice, 1773), p. 79; (Venice, 1778), p. 117. The first positive—if slightly inexact—mention of the two (?) inscriptions appeared in the next edition of the Περιγραφὴ Ἱερὰ... (Venice, 1817), pp. 136–137: "...the Mandra...communicates with the monastery through a small iron gate, near which is the large gate of the monastery with an inscription, in Greek and Arabic letters, mentioning the founder, Emperor Justinian." In spite of the reference to "the large gate," I believe that this passage concerns inscription no. 17, rather than no. 1.

Minor considerations: 1. The Arabic inscription is centered over the present entrance, while the Greek one is to its right, which suggests that it was added at a later date. 2. The lettering of the inscription is eighteenth century. 3. Cyril the Cretan was interested in making and recording inscriptions: the note of *Sinaiticus Graecus* 1605 gave the text of a projected, and apparently never executed, inscription to be painted on the basilica's ceiling (the text is flattering to Cyril); moreover, the note's author reproduced the three beam inscriptions [nos. 3, 4, 5] "for the sake of posterity," since he was aware that they would be hidden from sight by the new ceiling. H. Grégoire, (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 18 [1909], p. 500) called inscription no. 17 a patent forgery; R. Devreesse, "Le christianisme..." (as in note 1, *supra*), p. 213, note 2, thought this was an exaggeration. It is less important to ponder these nuances than to realize that our inscription goes back not to an ancient Greek model, but rather to a recent Arabic one. The identity of the antecedents of the Arabic model is another matter.

¹⁵ A. Guillou, "Le monastère de la Théotokos..." (as in note 9, *supra*).

¹⁶ Cf. pp. 226–230, 257.

mosaic inscription “by the effort of Theodore, priest and second in command, indiction fourteen” [no. 7] are modern: (1) The two dots placed over the I of the word indiction (ΪΝΔΑ⁵) “are embarrassing.” (2) The term *deutereuōn*, meaning second in command, “presents difficulties at that period” [i.e., in the sixth century]. (3) The sequence ΔI, instead of IΔ, to denote “fourteen” is “not admissible on the part of the mosaicist” who executed the main inscription. (4) The lower part of the inscription does not appear on the drawing made of the mosaic by Léon de Laborde in 1830. (5) A minor point: there is no connection between the *Sermon* on the Feast of the Transfiguration pronounced by Anastasius the Sinaite on Sinai itself in the seventh century, and the mosaic of the Transfiguration in the Sinai basilica.

None of these objections is valid. (1) The two dots over I are frequent in inscriptions of the sixth and seventh centuries. On Sinai itself, these dots occur repeatedly on the marble slab in the South Chapel (e.g. ΑΪΜΑΤΟC) and in the word ΑΪΛΗCΙOC carved on the beam with the inscription of Stephen the architect. (2) The use of *deutereuōn* or *deuterarios* in the sixth century is attested in the Acts of the Council of 536,¹⁷ and in Lives of Saints, specifically the *Vitae* by Cyril of Scythopolis and the *Vita Nicolai Sionitae*, which displays the very expression in our mosaic: πρεσβύτερον καὶ δευτεράριον.¹⁸ (3) The “inverse” sequence of numerals is routine in inscriptions from Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, especially in the two latter countries. This is textbook lore.¹⁹ (4) If the

¹⁷ Ed. by E. Schwartz, *ACO*, III (1940), pp. 35, 18; 129, 13; 143, 16; 157, 18; 164, 16; 172, 39.

¹⁸ Cyril of Scythopolis, ed. by E. Schwartz, *Texte und Untersuchungen*..., 49, 2 (1939), pp. 70, 13; 239, 6, 11; 240, 13. *Vita Nicolai*, ed. by G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos*..., I (1913), p. 8, 8–9; cf. *ibidem*, pp. 37, 17, 24; 43, 15. On the term *deutereōn*, cf., e.g., K. M. Rhalles, “Περὶ τοῦ ἀξιώματος τοῦ δευτερεύοντος τῶν πρεσβυτέρων,” in *Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*, 10 (1935), pp. 440–442; V. Laurent, *Le Corpus des sceaux de l’Empire byzantin*, 5, 1 (1963), p. 110; 5, 2 (1965), p. 450.

¹⁹ For Egypt (Fayum), cf. G. Lefebvre, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d’Egypte* (1907), no. 80: ... τῆς εἰ Ἰν(δικτιῶν); for Syria (Osmaniye), cf. L. Jalabert and R.

lower part of the inscription is later than Laborde’s drawing of 1830, why did Nektarios, Patriarch of Jerusalem, record it in his *Summary*, printed in Venice in 1677? He writes: “below this inscription [i.e., the principal inscription of the mosaic] there is another one, executed in white tesserae, saying: σπουδῇ Θεοδώρου πρεσβυτέρου.”²⁰ Nektarios’ passage alone disposes of the sceptic’s arguments. (5) There is indeed no connection between the *Sermon* on the Feast of the Transfiguration attributed to Anastasius of Sinai and the mosaic in the Sinai basilica. One simple reason for this is that the *Sermon* was pronounced not on Sinai, as Mr. Guillou, its editor, believes,²¹ but, logically enough, on the traditional Mountain of the Transfiguration itself, that is, on Mt. Tabor. This proposition is demonstrated by the *Sermon’s* reference to the “places of Melchisedek,”²² in other words, to the grottoes on Mt. Tabor, believed to have been inhabited by that Priest-King, and by six other proofs.²³

Mouterde, *IGLS*, 5 (1959), no. 2548:... Ἰνδ(ικτιῶν) αἱ'; for Palestine (Mount of Olives), cf. *Revue biblique*, 2 (1893), p. 214: Ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) αἱ. In the sixth and later centuries, the “inverse” sequence of numerals was known in other parts of the Empire as well. For evidence from the region of present-day Bulgaria, cf. V. Beševliev, *Spätgriechische und spälateinische Inschriften aus Bulgarien [= Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten*, 30] (1964), no. 231 and p. 165 (further bibliography). For Athens (the Acropolis), cf. A. K. Orlando in *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 70 (1946), p. 427.

²⁰ Nektarios, *Ἐπιτομὴ τῆς ἱεροκοσμικῆς ἱστορίας*..., p. 164.

²¹ “Le monastère de la Théotokos...” (as in note 9, *supra*), pp. 230, 233.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 256, 4–5.

²³ The earliest preserved source for the tradition placing Melchisedek on Tabor seems to be Ps.-Athanasius, Διὰ τί ἐκλήθη ὁ Μελχισεδέκ..., Migne, PG, 28, cols. 525–530, esp. 528B; 528BCD (Melchisedek spends seven years on Tabor); 529A (Abraham meets him there). This *pseudepigraphon*, “not earlier than the end of the fourth century” (probably later: it mentions the number 318 of the Fathers of the Council of Nicaea) may have been written in some monastery of the Holy Land; cf. Marcel Simon, “Melchisédech dans la polémique entre juifs et chrétiens et dans la légende,” in the same author’s *Recherches d’histoire judéo-chrétienne* (1962), pp. 109, 117, 125. The first author placing Melchisedek on Tabor whose epoch is known seems to be John Phocas (twelfth century), cf. his *Ekphrasis*, Migne, PG,

In short, all parts of the inscription on Sinai's great mosaic are roughly of the same

133, col. 937 BC (reference to the grottoes). The tradition itself, however, is said to go back to the fourth and fifth centuries. Cf. C. Kopp, *Die heiligen Stätten der Evangelien* (1958), p. 305.

For the six other proofs, cf.: 1. P. 239, 20: "and present feast indicates that this <mountain> is another Sinai"; hence, "this mountain" is *not* Sinai; 2. On p. 240 Anastasius draws parallels between events on Sinai, referred to as "there," and on Tabor, referred to as "here"; 3. P. 254, 9-12: "standing...on *this* holy summit, I exclaim, calling *all* the mountains together...the mountains of Sinai"; thus the author is *not* standing on Sinai; 4. P. 255, 9-10: "rejoice, *the present* most Holy and Taboric Mountain," (cf. II Pet. 1:18); thus Mt. Tabor is near; moreover, the whole geographical setting of pp. 255-256 is that of Palestine, not of Sinai; 5. P. 256: listeners of Anastasius consisted of several groups: priests, bishops, nuns ("virgins"), monks, and Children of Christ, or laymen; in short, "the crowd of God" had come to celebrate (p. 256, 8); how could all that massive audience have been mobilized on Sinai? 6. At the end of the sermon, the assembled listeners were invited "to ascend the mountain, to celebrate on Mount Tabor" (p. 256, 11-257, 1); this surely would be an invitation to a long walk had the sermon been delivered on Sinai.

Once it is realized that Anastasius' *Sermon* was pronounced on Mt. Tabor, we may explain the words (p. 237, 11-12) "the mountain heralded by the Melode," that is, David, as an allusion to Ps. 88(89):13, where we read "Hermon and Tabor shall rejoice in Thy name." As for the otherwise ambivalent phrase "Speech...by Anastasius of Mount Sinai...pronounced on the holy Mount itself" which stands in most versions of the *Sermon's* title, it could have been legitimately used for Tabor, since it adopts the language of II Pet. 1:18, where "the holy mountain" stands for the Mountain of the Transfiguration. It is perhaps to avoid the identification of "the holy Mount itself" with the epithet of "Mount Sinai," occurring in Anastasius' full name, that two scribes said "on the holy Mount of Tabor itself." This was an educated and correct guess, but this reading should be relegated to the apparatus (and the editor, p. 237, was right in doing just that, whatever his reasons may have been), since for early readers, in the *Sermon's* context the words "holy Mount itself" could only have meant Tabor. Cf. also Žitie i xoženie Daniila..., in *Pravoslavnijj Palestinskij sbornik*, fascs. 3 and 9 (1885), pp. 113-115 = *Itinéraires russes en Orient...*, ed. by B. de Khitrovo (1889), pp. 67-69. The Russian Daniel visited the grottoes of Melchisedek on Mt. Tabor in the first decade of the 12th cent.

period as the mosaic itself. That this period preceded Justinian's death is highly probable if not absolutely certain; but it cannot be later than the early seventh century. Both epigraphy and common sense preclude any other date.

IV

The inscriptions of Sinai have attracted the attention of visitors, pious and learned, ever since the time of Daniel of Ephesus in the late fifteenth century. In 1739 the observant and precise Pococke recorded as much as he could read of the inscription on the boulder over the Cave of Moses at the top of Mt. Sinai [no. 13].²⁴ However, the first systematic attempt to gather Sinaitic inscriptions precedes Pococke. In 1677 Nektarios devoted several pages of his *Summary of History, Sacred and Profane* to a list of "Inscriptions found in Various Places of Sinai."²⁵ Nektarios had three successors: Porfirij Uspenskij (1856),²⁶ O. Tafrali (1913),²⁷ and H. L. Rabino (1935 and 1938),²⁸ all of whom compiled lists of Sinaitic inscriptions. These lists are not complete, and suffer from the unavoidable haste with which their authors had to collect their material while at Sinai; moreover, facsimiles or photos, to be consulted later at leisure, were made only in exceptional cases. Our expedition could proceed with more deliberation and thoroughness. Among the sixteen earliest inscriptions which we collected, five seem not to have been previously mentioned; the readings of seven have been modified—we hope improved; several inscriptions, including the three on the basilica's beams, have been fully uncovered for the first time; and all have been permanently recorded.

²⁴ R. Pococke, *A Description of the East...*, I (1743), p. 146 and pl. LV, 10.

²⁵ Nektarios, *'Επιτομή* (as in note 20, *supra*), pp. 163-167 (25 numbers).

²⁶ *Vtoroe puteshestvie v Sinajskij monastyr' v 1850 godu* (1856), pp. 242-266 (40 numbers).

²⁷ *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'épigraphie byzantines* (1913), pp. 73-89 (22 numbers).

²⁸ "Le monastère de Sainte-Cathérine...", *Bulletin de la Société royale de géographie d'Egypte*, 19 (1935), pp. 78-100, 106-110 (159 numbers); *Le monastère de Sainte-Cathérine du Mont Sinaï* (Cairo, 1938), pp. 101-113 (192 numbers).

In advance of the full publication, we offer here the mere text of the sixteen inscriptions belonging to the Justinianic and immediately post-Justinianic periods of the monastery. Inscriptions published for the first time are provided with a double asterisk; those whose readings have been modified, with a single one. The best edition is in-

dicated for all previously published inscriptions. For the sake of completeness, I have added, as no. 17, the eighteenth-century inscription displaying the date 527, and as no. 18 (illustrated, but not transcribed) the same inscription on the back of the Archbishop's throne.

*1. NW Wall, *mâchicoulis* over the ancient main gate; *tabella ansata* in granite:

† Αὔτη ἡ πύλη κυρίου, | δίκαιοι εἰσελεύσοντ | αἱ ἐν αὐτῇ [Ps. 117 (118):20] † Ἰουστινίᾳ | νοῦ αὐτοκράτορος | [το]ῦ φιλοκτίστρου

K. Amantos, Σιναϊτικὰ μνημεῖα ἀνέκδοτα, in ‘Ελληνικά, Παράρτημα I (1928), pp. 48–49 (ὑψηλοῦ [?]κτίστου). ΦΙΛΟΧΡΙСΤΟΥ could be entertained as well.

*2. Basilica, lintel over the main entrance to the nave; pine wood:

1. Perpendicular face:

† Καὶ ἐλάλησεν κ(ύριος) πρὸς Μωυσῆν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ λέγων· | ἔγώ εἰμι ὁ Θ(εός) τῶν λι/ πατέρων σου, ὁ Θ(εός) Ἀβραὰμ κ(αὶ) ὁ Θ(εός) Ἰσαὰκ | καὶ ὁ Θ(εός) Ἰακὼβ. | † Εγώ εἰμι ὁ ὅντας | [cf. Exod. 3, esp. vs. 14].

2. Horizontal face:

(†) Αὔτη ἡ πύλη τοῦ κ(ύριο)υ, δίκαιολι/ εἰσε [λ] λεύσοντες ἐν αὐτῇ [Ps. 117 (118):20]

M.-J. Lagrange, “Le Sinaï,” *Revue biblique*, 6 (1897), pp. 109–110 (ΙΑΚΩ; ΔΙΚΑΙΟ)

*3. Basilica, board attached to ceiling beam no. 1 (counting from W; inscription faces E); pine wood:

† ΚΕΩΘΕΙΣ Ο ΟΦΘΕΙC ΕΝ Τῷ ΤΟΠῷ ΤΟΥΤΟΥΤῷ CΩCON ΚΑΙ ΕΛΕΗCON ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΛΟΝ COY ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΝ ΜΑΡ | ΤΥΡΙΟΥ ΔΙΚΟ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΚΤΟΝΑ ΑΓΛΗCION ΚΑΙ ΝΟΝΝΑC ΚΑΝΑΠΑΥCON TAC ΨΥΧΑC ΤΩΝ ΤΕΚΝΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΓΕΟΡΓ.

The woodcarver seems to have garbled his master copy. His eye may have jumped from the κ(αὶ) of κ(αὶ) ἀνάπταυσον to the καὶ of καὶ Νόννας. By reading ΔΙΚΟ as διόκονον and by shifting καὶ Νόννας where it belongs, we obtain the following reading:

† Κ(ύρι)ε οὐρανούς ὁ δόφθεις ἐν τῷ τόπῳ {του}τούτῳ, σῶσον καὶ ἐλέησον τὸν δοῦλον / σου Στέφανον Μαρ | τυρίου, διάκονον καὶ τέκτονα Αγλήσιον, κ(αὶ) ἀνάπταυσον τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ Γεοργίου γαὶ Νόννας.¹

V. Beneševič, “Sur la date de la mosaïque de la Transfiguration au Mont Sinaï,” *Byzantium*, 1 (1924), p. 151, note 2 (ΔΙΚ).

4. Basilica, board attached to ceiling beam no. 7 (counting from W; inscription faces W); pine wood:

† ‘Υπὲρ μνήμης κ(αὶ) ἀνα παύσεως τῆς γενα μένης ἡμῶν βασι λίδος Θεοδώρας †

V. Beneševič, “Sur la date . . .” (as in the preceding inscription), p. 151, note 1.

5. Basilica, board attached to ceiling beam no. 8 (counting from W; inscription faces W); pine wood:

† ‘Υπὲρ σωτηρίας τοῦ εύσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν βασιλέως Ἰουστίνιαν †

V. Beneševič, “Sur la date . . .” (as in inscription no. 3), p. 151, note 1.

*6. Basilica, Chapel of the Holy Fathers, South Wall; marble slab:

1. Main text:

† Τῆς δεκάδος τὴν διὰ τοῦ αἵματος κολυμβήθραν ζηλώσαντες οἱ ἵστριθμοι ὅσιοι π(ατέ)ρ(ε)ς | ἐνθάδε κατάκεινται, ὃν ἡ εὐφροσύνη ἡ βάτος ἡ ἀληθινὴ ὑπάρχει· δι' ὃν ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς σῶσον ἡμᾶς †

2. Monograms: a) , perhaps 'Ιωάνν(η)ς πρεσβ(ύ)τερ(ο)ς'

b) , perhaps 'Ιωάνν(η)ς πρεσ(β)ύτερ(ο)ς'

c) , meaning unclear.

3. Graffiti: a) Russian, Гъи спаси грѣшнав (Lord save the sinner...).

b) in Arabic script, which I am unable to decipher.

H. L. Rabino, *Le monastère de Sainte-Cathérine du Mont Sinaï* (Cairo, 1938), no. 56 = p. 105, cf. p. 30 (δωδεκάδος).

For monograms, cf. the seal published by V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l' Empire byzantin*,

5, 1 (1963), no. 496: ; the editor reads 'Ιωάννη or Νικήτᾳ ἐπισκόπῳ and dates the seal into the seventh century.'

7. Basilica, apse mosaic:

† Ἐν δύναματι π(ατέ)ρ(ὸ)ς κ(αὶ) ὑ(ιο)ῦ κ(αὶ) ἄγιον πν(εύματο)ς· γέγονεν τὸ πᾶν ἔργον τοῦτο ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν καρποφορησάντ(ων), ἐπὶ Λογγίου τοῦ ὁσιωτ(άτου) πρεσβ(υτέρου) κ(αὶ) ἥγουμ(ένου) † | † Σπου δῆ Θεο δώρου πρεσβ(υτέρου) κ(αὶ) δευτ(εραρίου), Ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δῖ †

V. Beneševič, "Sur la date . . ." (as in inscription no. 3), p. 153, note 1 (ΓΕΓΟΝΕ).

*8. Refectory, lintel over the NW window (the lower part of the inscription has been cleared of cement and the middle—intruding—stone has been removed from the composite photograph); granite:

† Ὁ ἐγείρων ἀπὸ γῆς πτωχὸ(ν) | κ(αὶ) ἀπὸ κοπρίας ἀνυψῶν παίν(ητο) [Ps. 112 (113):7], | σοὶ κ(ύρι)ε βοήθισο(ν) τοὺς δούλους σου | Στέφανον τὸν ἀρχιδ(ιάκονα) | (καὶ) Γερόντιον τὸν φυλόχρ(ιστον) | πρεσβ(υτέροιν) τοῦ ἄγιου Θεο[δ]ώρου (καὶ) ἐμοῦ Σαμ(ουήλ) μ(οναχοῦ) τοῦ γρ(άψαντος).

F.-M. Abel, "Notes d'archéologie chrétienne sur le Sinaï," *Revue biblique*, N.S., 4 (1907), p. 111 (βοήθισον; δούλου[ς] σου; ἄγιον (ναοῦ)).

**9. Storage room under the Old Library, E jamb of pointed arch, N face (former door lintel?): granite:

<† Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἄγι | <ου Σ>τεφάνου.

**10. Old Library, Museum Room, S wall; granite:

Τοῦ το νι | κᾶ. εἰς θε ὁς | ὁ βο ηθδ ν. | Κανά θου σὺν | [τέ]κνοις. ἀμήν. c. 9.

**11. Ascent to Moses Mountain. Second archway, SW face; granite:

† Ὅπερ σωτηρίας τοῦ | ἀββᾶ Ἱωάν[η]οῦ τοῦ | ἡγούμενοῦ καὶ ——

*12. Moses Mountain, top. Former keystone, standing upright at NW corner of chapel; granite:

Ὦφ(θε)ις θ(εὸ)ς ἐν τ<ο>ῦ | τώπ<ου τ>ούτο | μν<ή>σθετι | τὸν Υσυχί<ο>υ.

H. L. Rabino, *Le monastère . . .* (as in inscription no. 6), no. 86a = p. 107; cf. p. 37 (faulty: ὄφης; τυούτῳ; μιμήσκεσθε Τίτον; (Ινδικτίονος) ΥΧΙΥ).

***I3.** Moses Mountain, top. Cave of Moses below SE corner of Mosque; boulder over the cave, E face; granite:

[τὸν ἄγιον Μωϋ[σῆ], | μνήστηθη Κοσμᾶς καὶ | τοῦν τέκνουν αὐτοῦ | Τημοκράτους Σεργηδόν Κοσταντίας. | [Αμ']ῆν]

V. Beneševič, *Monumenta Sinaitica archaeologica et palaeographica*, fasc. I (1925), no. 56 c = pp. LI-LII (three versions, all erroneous).

****I4.** Moses Mountain, top. Cave of Moses below SE corner of Mosque, boulder over the cave, E face; granite:

[τὸν ἄγιον Μωϋσῆ] | [μνήστηθη] τοῦ δούλου σου | [---]μίου διακόνου | [καὶ π]αραμοναρίου | τοῦ γράψαντος †

****I5.** Old Library, Museum Room, S Wall; perhaps former panel in door or casket; pine wood:

† Κύριε | Εἰ λε/σοῦ | Χριστέ, | βο [ή] θι | Κυρίου τοῦ ἀ | μαρτο | λοῦ τὸν | θεῶν | ἡμῶν· | οἱ ἀναγι | νόσκον | τες μνίσ | κεσ [θ]έντος

βο [ή]θι originally βοέθι. μνίσκεσ [θ]έντος ε] originally μνίσκεστε.

I6. Picture Gallery of the Monastery, Votive Cross; bronze:

1. Upright:

† Ἐγέν | ετο δὲ | τῇ ἡμ | ἑρά τῇ | τρίτῃ | γενη | θέντ | ος πρ | ὅς ὅρ | θρον | ἐγίν | οντ | ο φο | νὲ κ(οι) | ἀστραπὲ | καὶ | νεφ | ἐλε | γνο | φόδι | σ ἐπ' ὅρ | ρος Σι | να, καὶ | φονὴ τῆς σ | ἀλπιγ | γος ἦ | χι μέ | γα· καὶ | ἐπτοή | θη πᾶς | ὁ λαὸς | ἐν τῇ π | αρεμβο | λῆ, κ(αὶ) ἔξ | ίγαγεν | Μοϋσῆς | τὸν λα | ὃν ἐκ τ | ης παρε | μβολῆς | εἰς τὴν σ | υνάντι | σιν τοῦ | θεοῦ | κ(ύρι)ε μνήσ | θητι τῷ γρά | ψαγτ[ι] †

2. Arms:

κ(αὶ) παρέστησαν ὑπὸ τὸ ὅρος τὸ Σινα. | τὸ δὲ Σινα ὅρος ἐκαπνίζετο ὅλον διὰ τὸ | καταβεβηκέναι τὸν θ(εὸ)ν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐν πυρί. | τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοι προσφέρομεν, κ(ύρι)ε. | ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Θεοδώρας τῆς φ(ι)λ(ο)χρ(ίστου) καὶ ὑπέρ | ἀναπταύσεως Πρόκλου κ(αὶ) Δομετίας, ἀμήν.

K. Weitzmann and I. Ševčenko, "The Moses Cross at Sinai," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 17 (1963), pp. 391–392.

I7. NW Wall, above the present entrance; stone:

† Ἐκ βάθρων ἀνηγέρθη τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο | μοναστήριον τοῦ Σιναῖου ὅρους, ἔνθα | ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ Μωυσῇ, παρὰ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ βα | σιλέως 'Ρωμαίων Ιουστινιανοῦ πρὸς ἀῖδι | ον μνημόσυνον αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς συλύγου του Θεοῦ | οδώρας· ἐλαβε τέλος μετὰ τὸ τριακοστὸν | ἔτος τῆς βασιλείας του, καὶ κατέστησεν | ἐν αὐτῷ ἡγούμενον ὀνόματι Δουλᾶ ἐν ἐ | τει ἀπὸ μὲν Ἀδάμ σκα, ἀπὸ δὲ Χ(ριστο)ῦ, φκλ.

R. Lepsius, *Briefe aus Agypten, Aethiopien, und der Halbinsel des Sinai* (1852), pp. 440–442; facsimile after p. 456 (συλύγου τοῦ; βασιλείας τοῦ).



1. Inscription No. 1. Northwest Wall, *Tabella Ansata* over the Ancient Main Gate. Latex Mold



A. Left Side. Latex Mold



B. Right Side. Latex Mold

Inscription No. 2. Basilica, Lintel over the Main Entrance to Nave. Perpendicular and Horizontal Surfaces

ΚΕΟΘΟΦΘΕΙΣΕΝΤΩΤΟΠΩΤΟΥΤΟΥΤΩ
ΤΥΡΙΟΥΔΙΚ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΚΤΟΝΑΛΙΛΗΣΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΙΝΟΝ

ΤΥΠΕΡΙΝΗΜΗΣΚΑΝΑ ΠΑΥΣΕΩΣ ΕΤΗΣΕΝ

ΤΥΠΕΡΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΕ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΓΕΒΗ ΝΗΣ

ΤΟΤΩΤΟΥΤΟΥΤΩΕΩΝΚΑΙΕΛΕΗΣΟΝΤΟΝΔ
ΔΑΙΛΗΣΙΟΝΚΑΙΗΟΝΝΑΚΑΝΑΤΤΑΥΟΝΤΑΦΥΧΑΣΤ

ΠΑΥΣΕΣΤΗΣΓΕΝΑ ΚΕΝΗΣΗΑΙΩΝΔΑΙ

ΤΟΥΕΥΕΒΗΗΗΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΕΙΟΥΣΤΙ



3. Inscription No. 3. Basilica, Ceiling Beam No. 1. Latex Mold



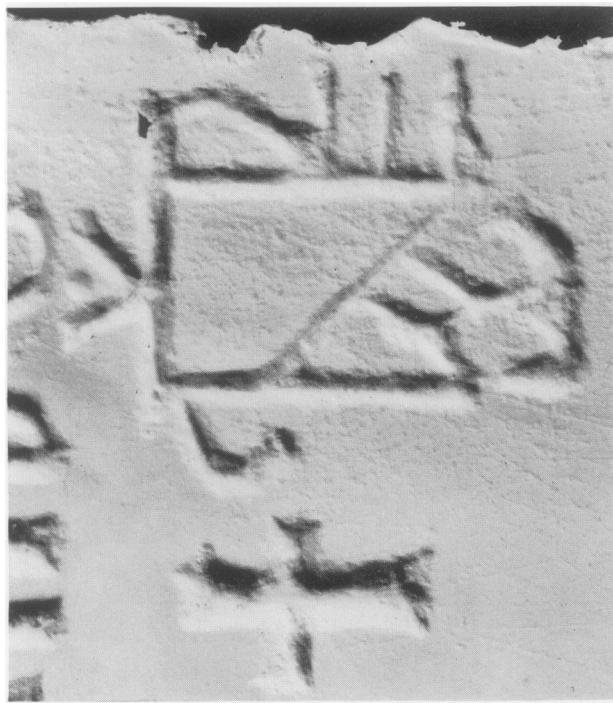
4. Inscription No. 4. Basilica, Ceiling Beam No. 7. Latex Mold



5. Inscription No. 5. Basilica, Ceiling Beam No. 8. Latex Mold



A. Over-all View, Latex Mold
6. Inscription No. 6, Basilica, Chapel of the Holy Fathers, Marble Slab in South Wall



C. Detail, Right Side. Latex Mold



D. Detail, Right Side. Latex Mold

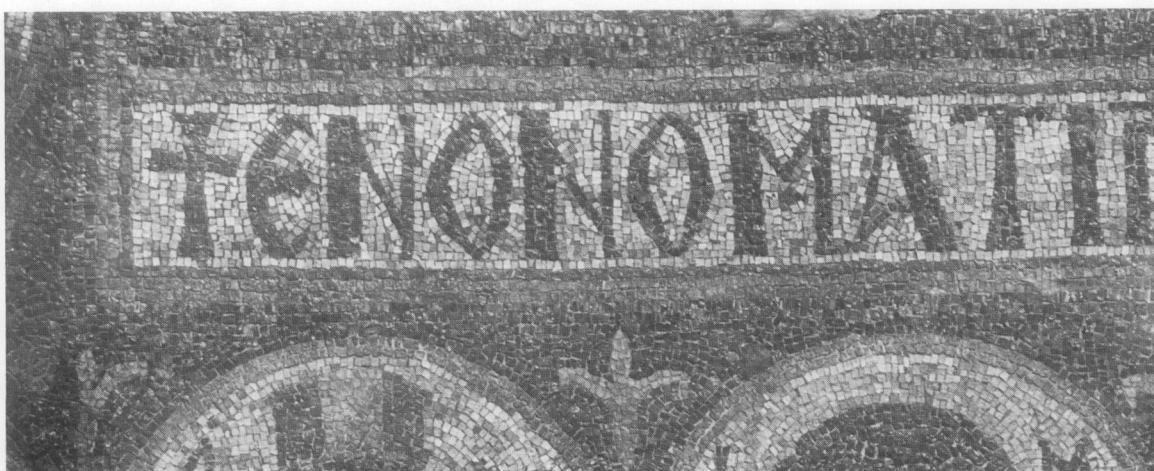


B. Detail, Left Side. Latex Mold

6. Inscription No. 6. Basilica, Chapel of the Holy Fathers, Marble Slab in South Wall



A. Over-all View. Photo



B. Beginning of Inscription. Photo



C. End of Inscription. Photo

7. Inscription No. 7. Basilica, Inscription of the Apse Mosaic



A. Present Position. Photo



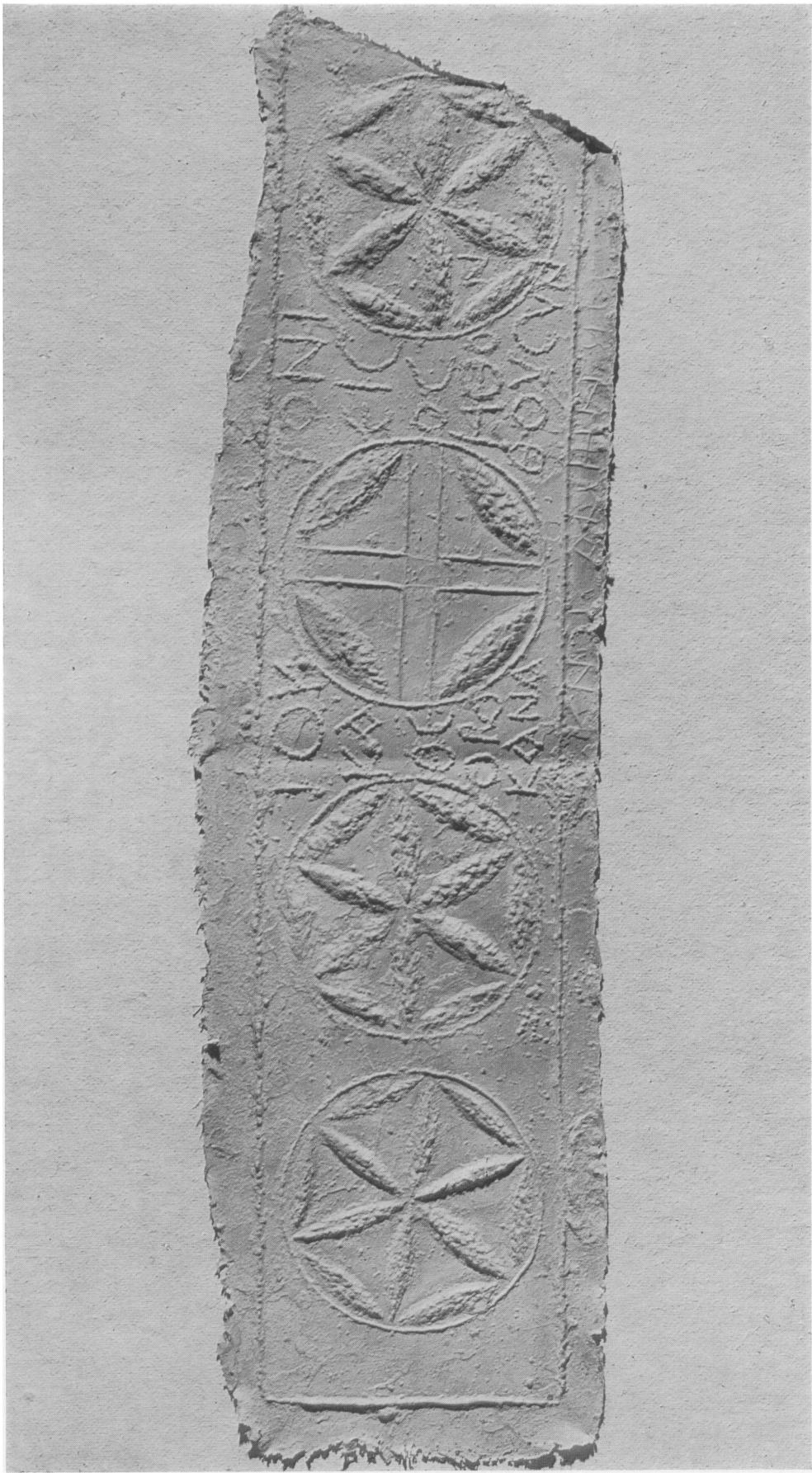
B. Original Position, Composite Print



8. Inscription No. 8. Refectory, Lintel over the Northwest Window



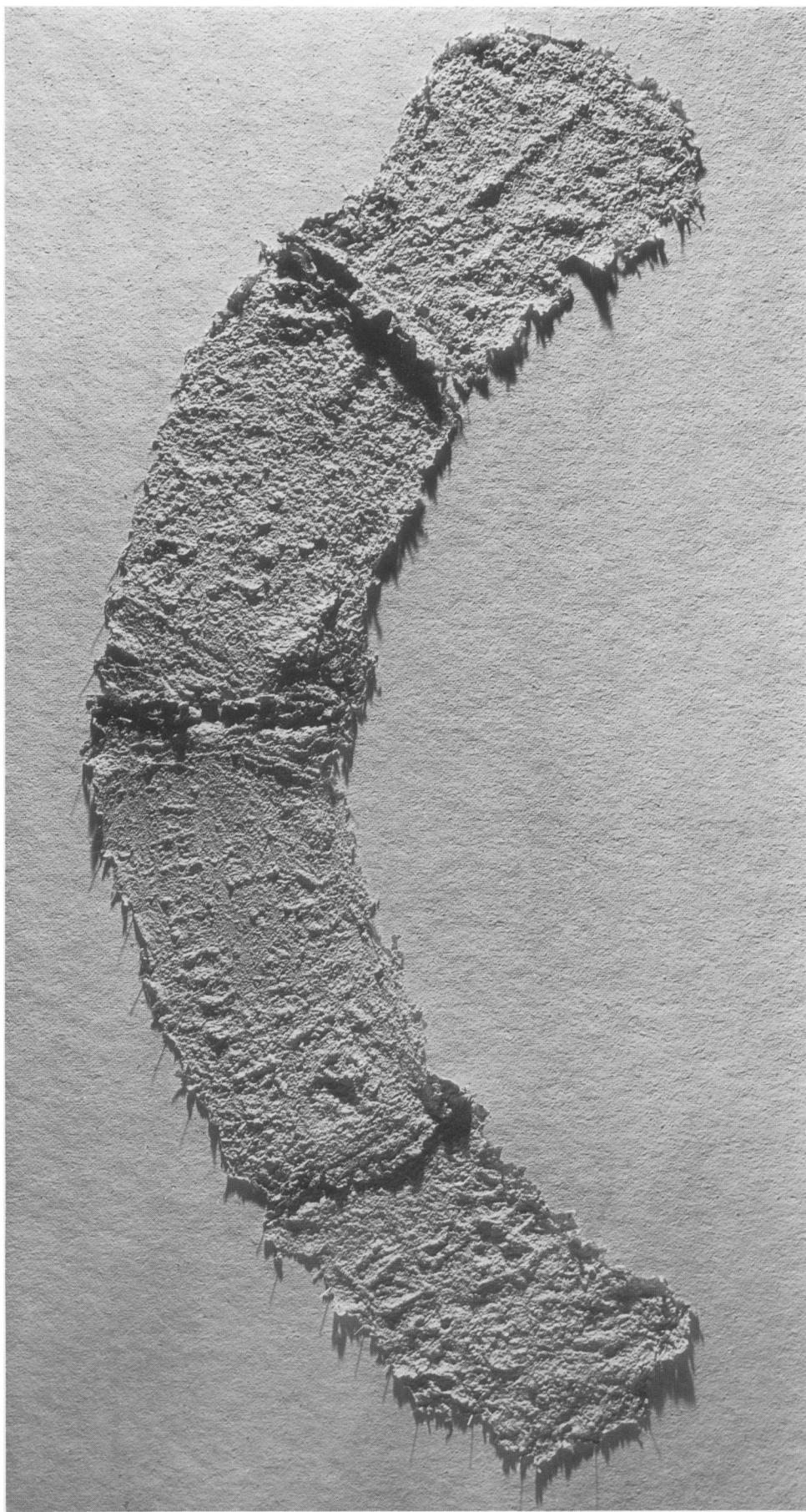
9. Inscription No. 9. Storage Room under Old Library, East Jamb of Pointed Arch, Former
Door Lintel. Latex Mold



10. Inscription No. 10. Old Library, Museum Room, South Wall; Block of Granite. Latex Mold



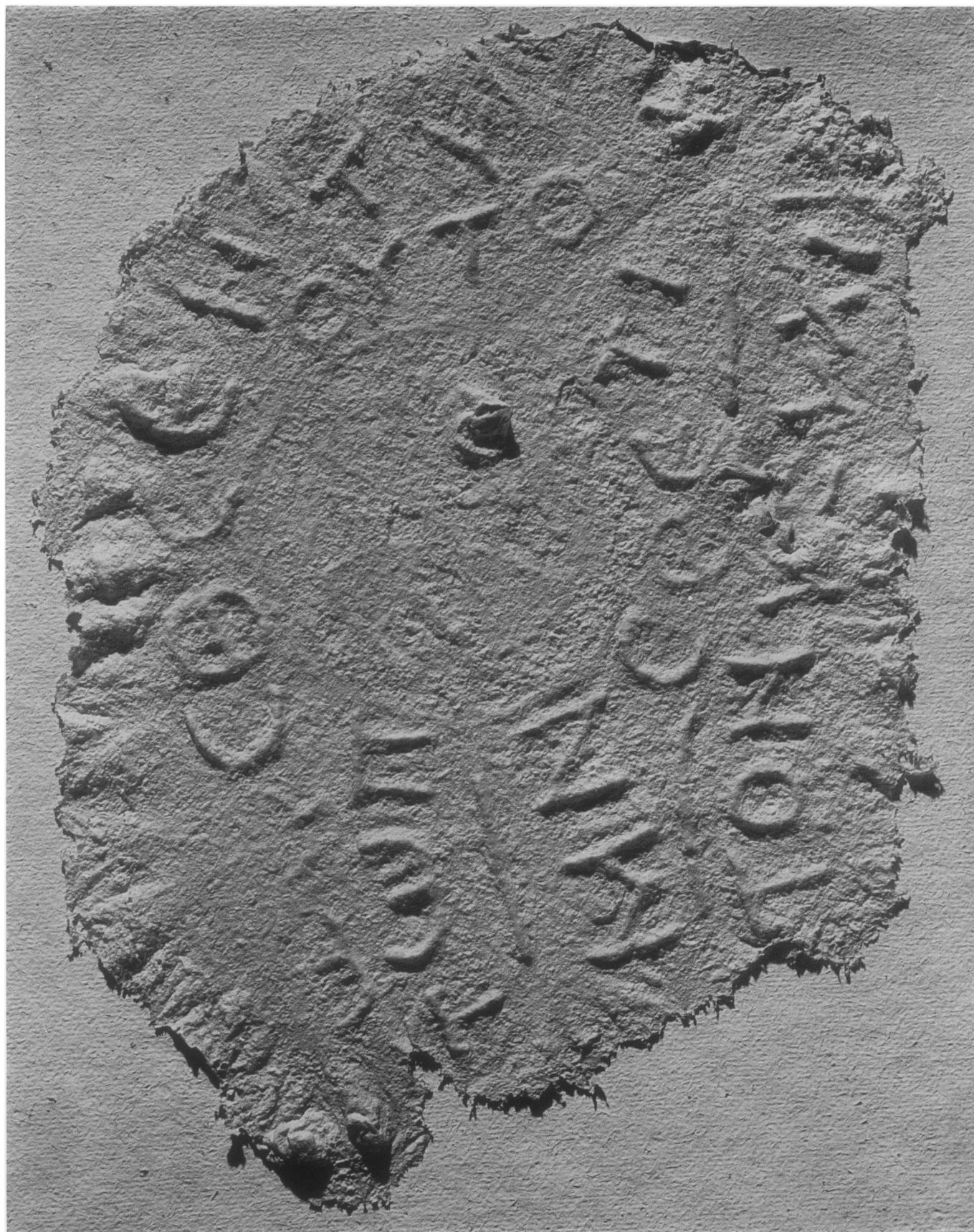
11 A. Inscription No. 11. Ascent to Moses Mountain, Second Archway, Southwest Face. Photo



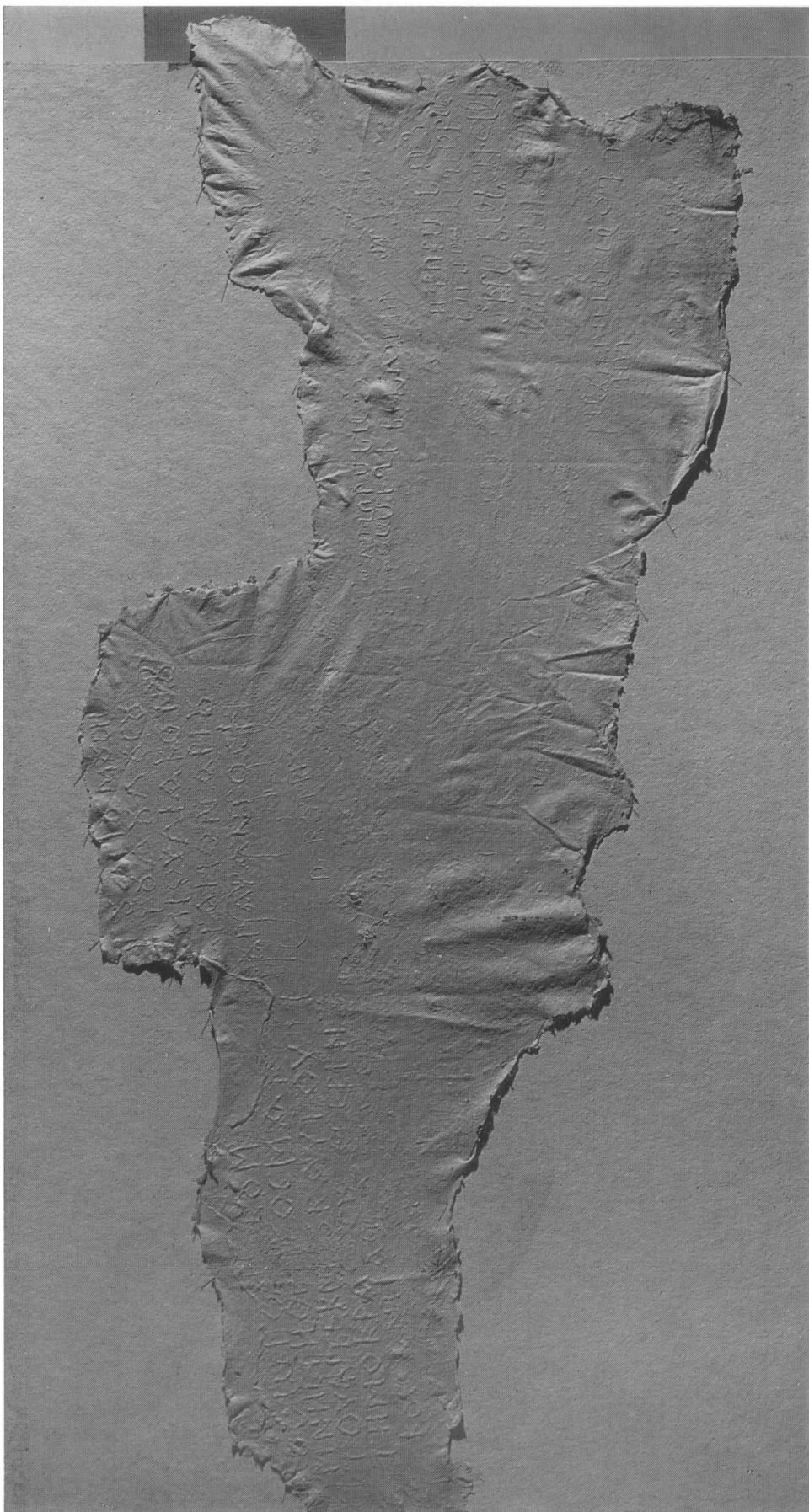
11 B. Inscription No. 11. Ascent to Moses Mountain, Second Archway, Southwest Face.
Latex Mold



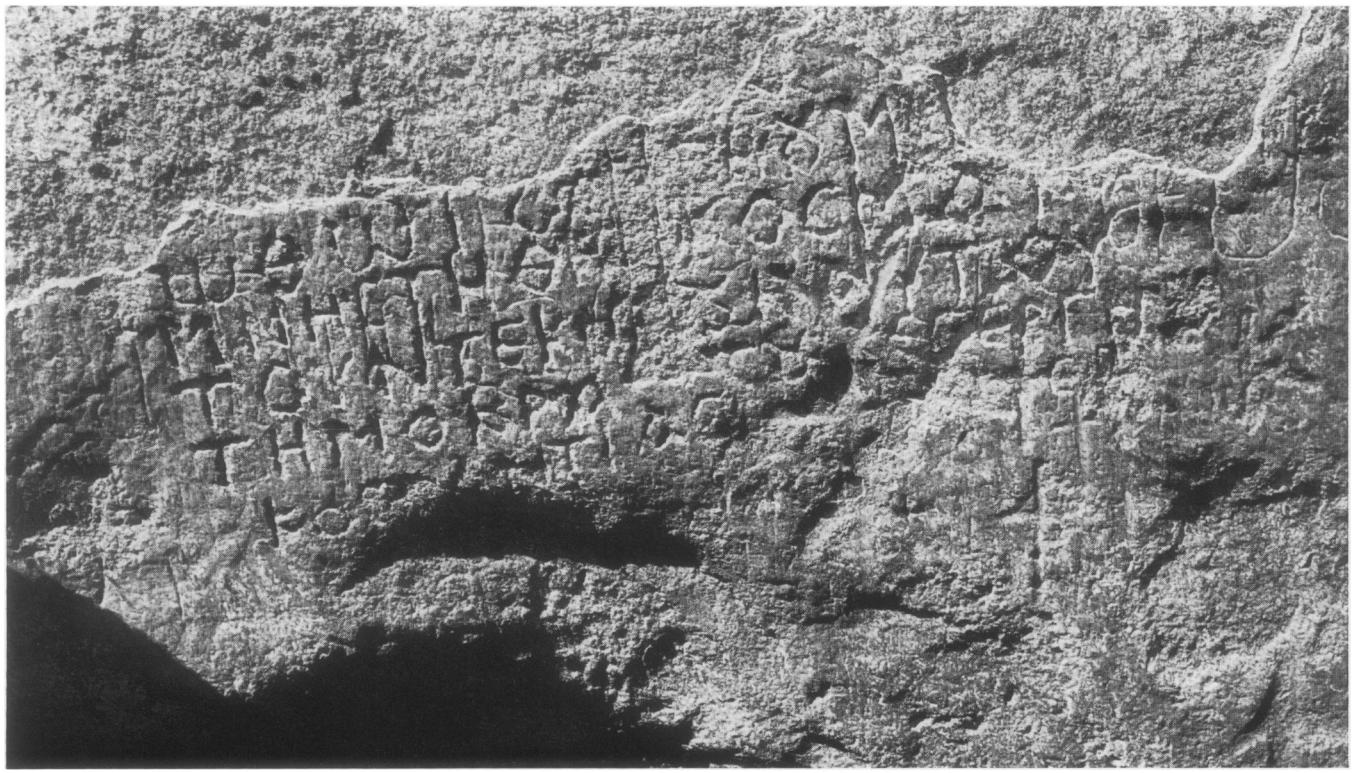
12 A. Inscription No. 12. Top of Moses Mountain, Former Keystone. Photo



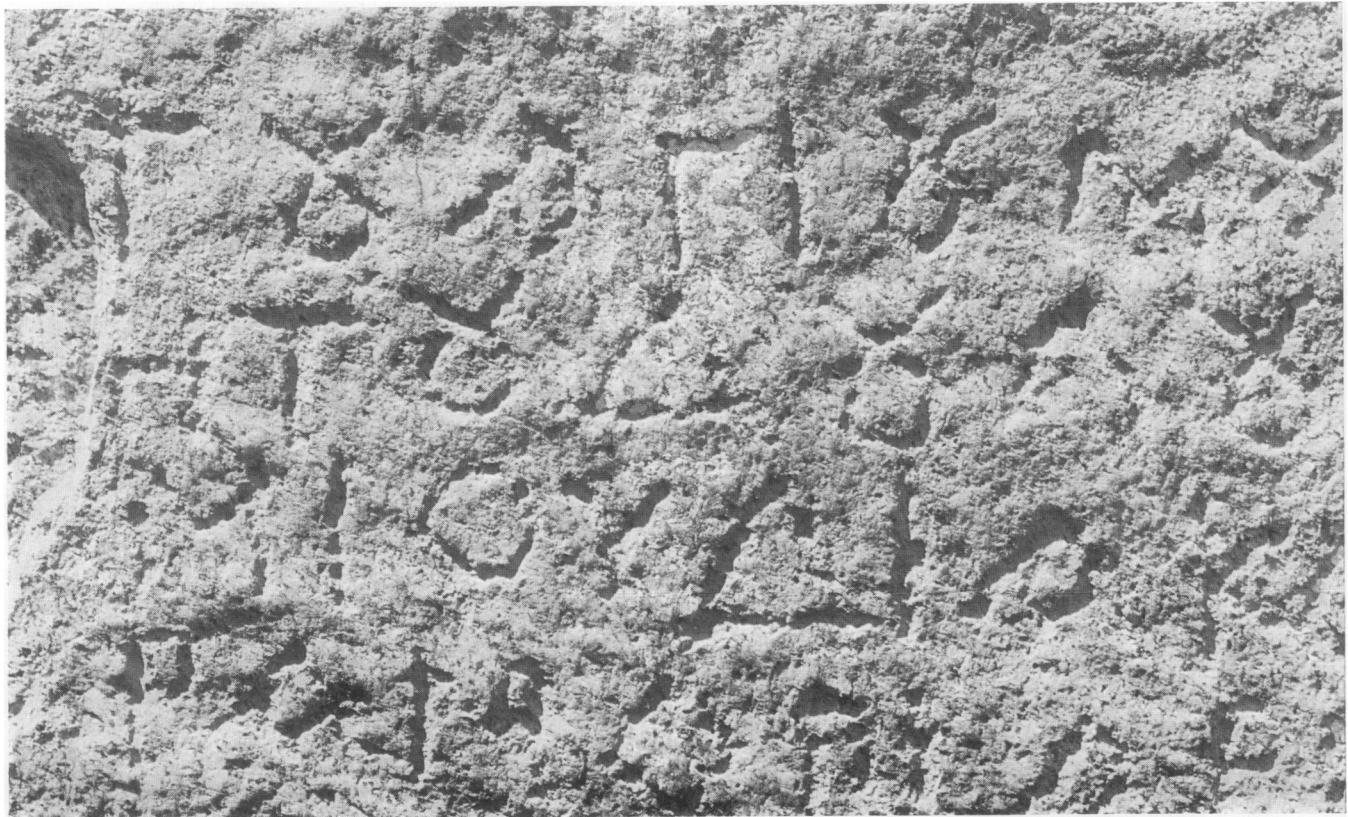
12 B. Inscription No. 12. Top of Moses Mountain, Former Keystone. Latex Mold



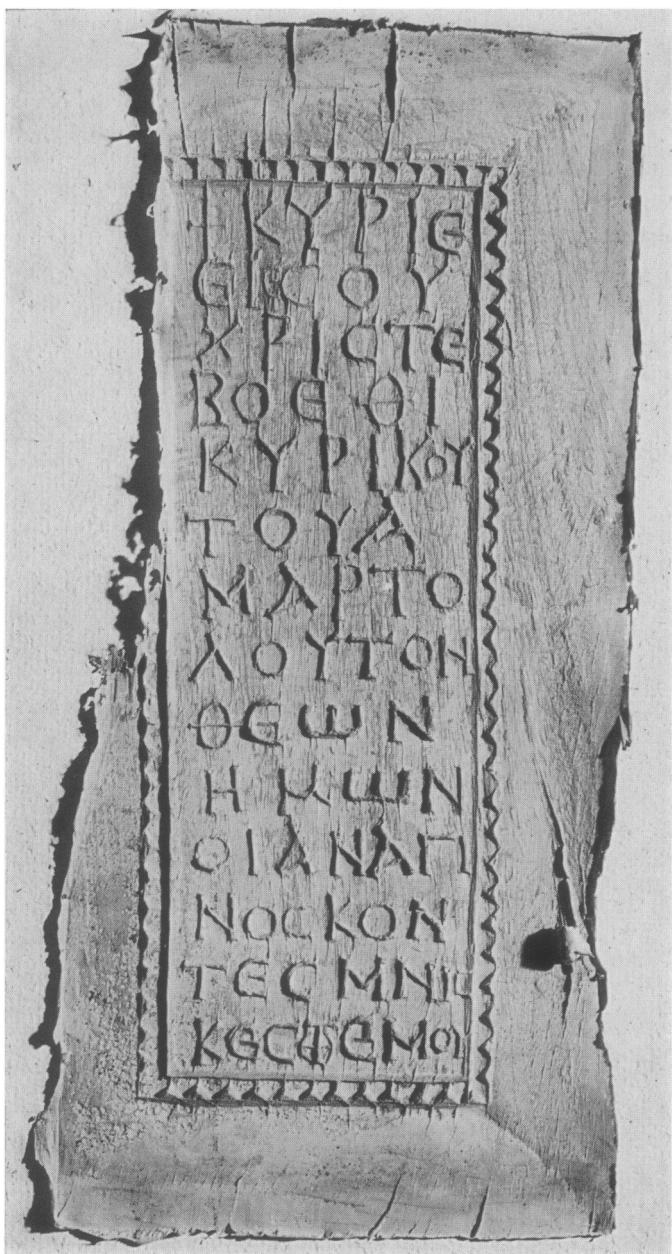
13-14. Inscriptions Nos. 13 and 14. Top of Moses Mountain, Boulder over the Cave of Moses, Over-all View.
Latex Mold



13. Inscription No. 13. Top of Moses Mountain, Boulder over the Cave of Moses. Photo



14. Inscription No. 14. Top of Moses Mountain, Boulder over the Cave of Moses, detail. Photo



15. Inscription No. 15. Old Library, Museum Room,
Former Panel in Door? Latex Mold



16 A. Inscription No. 16. Picture Gallery, Bronze
Votive Cross, detail. Photo



16 B. Inscription No. 16. Picture Gallery, Bronze Votive Cross, details. Latex Molds



17. Inscription No. 17. Northwest Wall, Slab above the Present Entrance. Latex Mold



18. Basilica. Inscription on Back of Archbishop's Throne. Photo